

OBSERVATIONS  
ON THE  
LETTER

(It)  
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Written by the  
Duke of *Buckingham*  
T O  
Sir *THOMAS OSBORN*,

Upon the Reading of a Book,  
CALLED,  
The Present Interest  
O F  
ENGLAND  
STATED.

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*Written in a Letter to a Friend.*

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L O N D O N,  
Printed in the Year 1685.

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Written in a Letter to a Friend

LONDON

Printed in the Strand

Observations on the Letter Written  
by the Duke of *Buckingham* to  
*Sir Thomas Osborn*, &c.

S I R,

SO soon as some indispenfible Occasions would permit, I did at your instance, ftrictly perufe the *Pamphlet*, called, *The Prefent Intereft of England Stated*; As alfo, the Letter directed to *Sir Thomas Osborn* in answer to it, and at your request, fhall now give you my Senfe of both.

I find no Caufe, by the Scope of the Letter, to believe otherwife of the *Author*, than according to his own Professions, that he really defigns the *Honour, Greatnefs and Prosperity* of this Nation. An Honest and Honourable undertaking, the perfect difcovery whereof, I wifh may be purfued by Men of *leasure*, and put in practice by thofe of *Power*.

I underftand the Letter to agree fully with the *Pamphlet*, in all its Maxims relating to our *Domestick Intereft*, not differing neither from our *Foreign* in any thing, fave what relates to *Holland*, and therein likewise, not in all, but only in *some Particulars*, but in *feveral* of them; I obferve alfo the *Author* of the *Pamphlet*, to be by the Letter exceedingly miftaken; for whereas it renders him fo *Byaffed* with *Affecti-*

on to the *Dutch*, as makes him overlook the usefulness of *Foreign Alliances*. I cannot judge, but he grounds all he writes concerning *Holland*, upon the *Safety* and *Benefit* of *England*, inſomuch as it ſeems ſtrange to me, how a Perſon of that Candor and Ingenuity, as the *Author* of the *Letter* is, ſhould be ſo far miſtaken, as to inſinuate to the World, that the *Pamphlet* he answereth, pleadeth

First, For allowing all the *Injuries* and *Wrongs* done by the *Hollanders* to this *Nation*, (Page 5.)

Secondly, For ſtudying of their *Interests*, and loving of them; because they are *Traders*, though by being ſo, they take our *Trade* from us, (Page 5, 6.)

And Thirdly, That their *Parſimony* is no good Reason for diſlike of them, (Page 6.) As if all theſe were Arguments made uſe of by expreſs words in that *Book*, when I do not find any Expreſſions relating to any of theſe Particulars, that do either in words ſay ſo much, or will in the leaſt admit of any ſuch Inferences or Concluſions; (although as to this *Third*, if there were any word to that purpoſe, it might be defended.) For all the Arguments made uſe of by the *Pamphlet*, againſt the deſtroying of the *Hollanders*, are either upon the account of *Justice* and *Righteouſneſs*, (which eſtabliſheth a *Nation*) or clearly in reference to the *Safety* and *Utility* of this *Kingdom* both in *Church* and *State*, and not in the leaſt, upon any particular Affection to the People of that *Country*, as the *Letter* doth inſinuate the *Pamphlet*; being no otherwiſe concerned for them,



them, than as it is, for preserving the Balance of *Christendom* in opposition of *Papery* and *Slavery*.

I find the *Pamphlets* commending the *Dutch* for their *Morals*, (compared with the *French*, &c.) to be answered by objecting, that if the *Author* had lain but one night in any *Inn* of *theirs*, he would have been convinced of the contrary, which implieth, that he had never done it, or at least never told the World he had, and yet the *Book* justifies his opinion of *them* in affirming his experience, from having travelled *their Countries*; (*Interest of England*, Page 30.) and truly by his general knowledge of the *Netherlands*, he may well be supposed to have thoroughly done it; and granting so much, it consequently follows, that he must then have experienced their *Inns*; but if from *Goufening* and *Gheating* in *Inns*, *Ale-houses* and *Taverns*, the measures of a *Peoples Morals* must be Calculated; I fear some other *Countries*, by high *Reckonings*, false *Measures*, in *Bottles*, *Pots* and *Cans*, exceeding them, and tacitly allowed of, &c. will be found as faulty as they, and to lye (at least) equally with them, under the burden of that uncharitable *Synecdoche*, of blaming the whole for a part; for I can my self by experience, so far joyn with the *Pamphlet* in justifying of it, as to aver, That I never travelled in all my Life, in any *Country* so cheap as in *theirs*, and that no private Person doth otherwise, but either *voluntarily*, by being profuse, or *carelessly* in spending more than he needeth, in not keeping to his *Ordinaries*, but living at large; for their *Rates* by *Land* or

*Water*, are so certain, that none can pay one more than another, and the like is in *their Inns*, for *Ordinaries* and *Lodgings*; insomuch that I have often wondred their great *Trade* and *Populousness* (which in all other places makes things dear) considered, I found living there so cheap as I did. But as no Number or Society of men, can be said to be *perfectly good*, or *altogether evil*; so the most just and certain Rule for applauding or condemning any *Country*, is not from a few *Instances* of a small part of it, but by way of *Comparison* with other *Countries*; and by that *Standard*, *Holland* cannot be found by much so bad as *Popish Countries*, where the *Doctrines* of the *Jesuits* (which hath more or less an influence upon most of their *Religion*) of good *Intentions*, *Probability* and *Necessity*, &c. and of their whole Church, of *keeping no Faith with Hereticks*, &c. is inconsistent with honest Conversation, rendring them unfit even for one anothers Society, there being no Fence against such Principles.

The Cruelty at *Amboina*, is (I confess) to be had by all in Abhorrence; but since it was *before* we were born, that it was acted but by a few, and disowned, and not justified at home: That King *James* of Happy Memory, and his wife and excellent Council and Favourites, thought therefore not fit to *revenge* it; and that it hath since, by several Treaties, been buried and put in Oblivion; I question whether we ought still to *remember* it; but provided, that the constant Trade that the *Popish Nations* have (in all Ages down to our times) driven in *Massacres* and *Cruel Torterings*, and that

that with the applause and approbation of their chief *Bishop* and *Church*, as *Italy*, *Savoy*, *France* and *Ireland* do witness, may be remembred; I can be well pleased, that that single Act at *Amboina*, committed by a few *Protestants* condemned by the rest, and which is abhorred by the *Principles of their Religion*, may not be forgotten; and thereupon the whole designs of the *Pamphlet* and *Letter*, each severally considered, I cannot observe, that they differ in any *Material Circumstance*; but that both aim at the same end, the *Honour*, *Greatness*, *Prosperity* and *Safety* of this *Nation*, unless the first is too straight laced in the Rules of *Honesty* and *Justice*; believing (that though *Interest* rightly understood or mistaken, governs all the *World* yet) that that Precept of *doing to others as we would have them to do to us*, gives no latitude to any *Country* to destroy another, to the end to increase their own *Trade* or *Greatness*; for were it otherwise, nothing could be more for our *Security* against *Invasions* and the *Profit* of *England*, than to destroy in time the *French* in their *Shipping*, and thereby in their *Maritime Commerce*, before they are overgrown in *Strength* and *Trade*, in both, which from young *Interlopers*, they are in a short time too much increased, especially in our *Newfoundland Fishery*, where they have almost eaten us out, to the unspeakable prejudice of the *Western Parts*! though that *Trade* was once our greatest *Nursery* for *Seamen*, and might have been much more improved, and is of such a *Nature*, as the *Dutch* were not capable of doing us much prejudice in,

or at least as they never attempted to do us any.

The Letter reproves the Pamphlets inviting all Princes into the Triple League, scoffing at it as absurd; the League being now determined, and to evince the Error, gives this account of the League: *That the French King being entred Flanders, with a very powerful Army, the Kings of England, Sweden, and the States of Holland, entred into a Confederacy, with design to force the French to make Peace upon such Terms as should be proposed by them, (and therein wisely to prevent the growing Greatness of France) and at the same time the Confederates made Articles amongst themselves, to help one another, in case any of them should be invaded for having made this League, either by the French King, the King of Spain, or any of their Allies, and upon the acceptance of the Articles proposed, the Confederates became their Guarranty or Sureties, for performance of them on both sides.*

And now, this being the State of the Case, where the Absurdity or Bull lies, in making no distinction between the Triple League, and the Guarranty of the Peace, is beyond my apprehension; for the League, as is confessed, being made to induce (that is to force) the French King to a Peace, (the King of Spain) who was Invaded, standing in no need of Compulsion) and the Confederacy continuing for warranting of the said Agreement (which in effect is no less than an honest and prudent League, for keeping the French within tolerable Bounds and Limits) and for the assistance of each other against any that should endeavour

to

to revenge this Confederacy; the *Triple League* seems to me (as it is confessed by the *Letter* it self, at the lower end of *Page 15.*) to be still in being, and the Expression to be as properly used as that of *Guarranty*, as being one and the same thing; for the *Guarranty* aiming at the same end the *League* doth, and being one Article of the Confederacy, the *Triple League* must be still in being, as well as the *Guarranty*: And surely, it was the last *Session of Parliament* thought so to be, when Money was desired for maintaing of it. But this, *Sir*, is not worth contending about, for the matter being clearly laid down by the *Letter*, the judgment of it is left to your self.

As I am no *Statist*, nor pretender to it, so it concerns not me to enquire further into the Articles agreed on by his Majesty with the *Swede* and *Dutch*, than is made publick, nor in the least to attempt the Censuring any Action of *State*; (for that shall always be Foreign to me) but yet I presume I may without offence say, it doth not appear to me, as it doth to the *Author* of the *Letter*, that the *Emperor* and *Princes* of *Germany*, could not have been taken into the *Triple League* by the *Confederates*, without engaging to assist them upon occasion against the *Turk*; for as we find that it hath been ordinary for *Princes* to limit and proportion their *Leagues*, according to their *Interests*, so it is irrational to do otherwise. And it doth not follow, that because it is the *Interest* of the *Emperor* and *Princes* of *Germany*, to enter into a *League* with other  
*Princes,*



*Princes*, for keeping the *French King* from unjustly incroaching upon his *Neighbours*, that therefore those *Princes*, contrary to their manifest *Interest*, should enter into a *League* with them against the *Turk*: But I Honour the *Author* of the *Letter*, for the care he expresseth to have for the prevention of *War* to this *Nation*, and for the rest and quiet of the poor People of *England*, (Page 9.)

The *Pamphlet* not being concerned in the complaint against those that blame the breach with *Holland*, because of the *Tripple League*, I shall pass that over, agreeing fully with the *Author*, that Self-preservation is chiefly to be preferred, *Salus Populi suprema Lex*.

The *Author* of the *Letter*, in his treating of the *Interest* of *England*, hath several *Observations* and *Notions* deserving consideration, which I shall reduce to these six Heads following.

First, That our Increase in Power, since the time of *Queen Elizabeth* (of famous Memory) is not proportionable to the increase of the *Dutch*, (Page 12.)

Secondly, That the *Dutch*, being so powerful at Sea as they now are, may, by joyning with the *French*, (whenever they will agree upon it) endanger the Conquest of *England*; and keeping to themselves the most considerable parts in it for Trade, being Masters at Sea, provide for their own Security against the greatness of *France*, (Page 12.)

Thirdly, That it is not Wisdom for any Nation to have its Safety depend upon the Prudence of another, as in relying upon its being against the



*the Interest of Holland to Invade England, because they may mistake their Interest, (Page 12.)*

*Fourthly, That a Conquest of England being made, the Dutch Government being more easie and indulging Trade, than the Arbitrary and Severe Regiment of France, as also their Religion concurring more with ours than that of France, the Trading Party of England would be likelier to close with the first than the latter; and for the like Reason should Holland be ever in danger of a Conquest by the Conjunction of England with France, they would rather choose to become part of the English Government, than submit to the Power of France: For that their joyning with us, and therein making it as much our Interest to promote their Trade, as the Trade of any other Nation, may answer that Objection, That their fear of our obstructing their Trade, will make them averse to us, (Page 13.)*

*Fifthly, That it is not probable, that the Dutch will ever agree to put themselves under the Dominion of the French, who will not trust them without such Advantages as may compel them to observe their Promises, as the other will never give them such a Power, lest they should make a corrupt use of it, (Page 14.)*

*Sixthly, That considering the Situation and Constitutions of England; a Coalition with us would prove more acceptable and advantageous to them, than any Terms they can expect from the French; and that should we get no more than the Maritime Towns, and the French all the rest of the States Dominions, we should have no cause to repent our Bargain, (Page 14.)*

These

These *Notions* contain the substance of that part of the *Letter* which treats of the *Interest of England*; the *first* of which I must not at present deny, because the *Auxiliary* assistance which we have received from *France*, seems to make it good; yet the *Story* of 88. acquaints us, that the *States* in those times, with 35 *Men of War*, Blocked up *Dunkirk*, and the Duke of *Parma's Navy* in it, to the great Service of *England*; but it is certain, that all *Nations* will increase, or decline more or less, according as their *Interest* is pursued, and their Government suited to it, which happily is the Cause, why none can be said to have out-done the *States of Holland* (their low beginnings considered) in increase in *Trade* and *Riches*; but if Augmentation in Territories, and Power be a Crime, it is one that *France* is more guilty of than the *United Netherlands*, and ought therefore to be looked upon with a more jealous Eye; for the natural advantages that we have of the *Dutch* in the Situation of our *Country*, and the greatness of it; in the goodness and number of our *Havens* and *Ports*, to breed *Seamen*, and harbour *Ships*, are such, as appears to me to render it impossible for them, ever to become our Superiors at Sea (*as is suggested by the Letter, Page 11.*)

As to the *second Assertion*, or Head, I must in that crave leave to dissent, without granting the question (which is begged) that *Holland*, whilst in Liberty, might be under a likelihood of agreeing with *France* for the Conquest of *England*, the thing seeming to me to be morally impossible.

*First,*

*First*, From their want of *People*, especially fit for *War*, their *Dominions* being small, and furnished much with *Strangers*, and altogether with *Traders*, Circumstances which no *Country* must be under, that designs Foreign Conquests or Invasions.

*Secondly*, From the Nature of their *Government*, in its being no more than an *Union* of several *Absolute Sovereignities*, for common Defence and Preservation, which is a Quality not fit for Acquisitions, in that the Difficulty in satisfying every concern upon the good Success of their Arms, and the many occasions that would arise from thence of Differences amongst them, renders it impracticable.

*Thirdly*, From the Impossibility of the *French*, and their *Agreement upon the Division* of *England*; for that it is not to be imagined, but each of them would be jealous of the others *Increase in Territories and Power*, and that the *States* would have no more cause to presume upon their over-witting the *French*, in getting to themselves the most considerable places in it for *Trade*, (as is supposed by the *Letter Page 12.*) than the *French* in over-reaching *them*, who have always been wise enough in *Treaties*: For that an increase in the *French Monarchy* would be more dangerous to the *States*, than the like in the *States* would be to *them*, who are already the others overmatch; and it cannot with reason but be supposed, that in the *Division of England*, the *French* would on the one hand have an Eye at supplying themselves with that they only want, for making them uncontrollable in the World,

*good*

*good Havens and Ports*, and also on the other hand, that the *Dutch* would never yield unto that that would *destroy them*. But if *England* had reason to be jealous of *France* and *Holland's* Conjunction, in order to the Conquest of it, (as the Letter suggests: ) I fear with the same reason *France* will be jealous of *England's* im-  
patronizing *Holland*, as being as well unwilling to have the *Dominion of the Seas* so much *undivided* in the hands of any one Lord, as all the rest of *Europe* cannot check it, as we are to have the *Dominion of the Land* in the like kind under any other Lord or Prince.

To the *Third* Assertion, I have not any thing to object in opposition, nothing being more ordinary in the World, than *gross mistakes* in the *Interest of Countries*, proceeding often from *Passion, Revenge, and disordered Affections*; yet this may be said in the Case, that the *States* were such great Masters in the knowledge of their Civil Interests, that *none* might have been *Safelier* trusted upon that account than *they*.

To the *Fourth* Head or Assertion, I have only this to answer, That as it is natural for all Rational Creatures, of *two Evils* to choose the *least*, so supposing that the *States* being reduced to a necessity of parting with their own Government, *will have the Election* of their *new Lords* in their own *Power*; and taking it for granted, that they are Men of *Conscience* and *Religion*, I do fully agree with the *Author* of the Letter in his opinion, that they will in such Case choose rather the *English*, than the  
Severe

Severe Government of the *French*, unless the consideration (in their partial opinion) of who is best able to protect their Country, do not prevail with them, to trust the *French* King in point of *Religion*; but I very much question, whether it is not groundless to suppose, that any Nation being attacked by two great *Monarchs*, will have the choice of their own Masters left to themselves, by a mutual Agreement betwixt those Monarchs, without which it cannot be. But I highly esteem the *Author* of the *Letter*, for the true Sense he expresseth to have of the *French* Government, from which the *Lord* in *Mercy* deliver all other Countries.

The *Fifth* Assertion, is a Supposition that the *Dutch* will have it in their choice, to trust the *French* or not, and in such Case I am of opinion with the *Letter*; that they will never do it, *Spain*, *Lorrain*, and the *Protestants* of *France*, being a sufficient warning to them; but as Affairs now stand, I very much fear they will not have the *Election* of it in their own hands.

The *Sixth* Assertion, though as most weighty, deserveth most Consideration; yet for the first part of it, Whether *England* admitting the *Dutch* to a Coalition, would be of more advantage to them, than any Terms they can expect from the *French*. I will not dispute, but am much of belief, that the *French* Councils, considering that they want nothing to facilitate their universal design more than an Interest in the *Northern* Seas, where they might Harbour and Form a *Navy*, nourish and breed Seamen;  
and



and likewise considering, that the Maritime Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Friezland*, would signifie nothing without *Trade*, but in danger of being swallowed up by the *Sea*, for want of Ability to maintain the *Banks* against it, nor *Trade* signifie any thing without *Liberty*; they would soon find it necessary as to their Interest, to wave the *French* Principles for *Arbitrary* Government, and to leave the *Dutch* in a great measure of *Freedom*, relying only upon *Citadels*, for keeping them dependent upon them, and forcing them upon occasion to be useful to them, as judging that the best way to serve themselves of them, lest otherwise by *Severity*, they should provoke the dispersing the Inhabitants to *Emden*, *Bremen*, *Hambourg*, *Lubeck* and *Dantzick*, &c. the four first being *Imperial Free Cities*, and the latter the same under *Poland*; for *Arbitrary* Government, (that must be maintained by the *Sword*) and the idle Callings and rude manners of *Souldiers*, which are altogether inconsistent with, and *Enemies* to *Trade* and *Commerce*, will always cause *Traders* to change *Bondage* for *Liberty*, or at least in hopes of better Entertainment, one Country for another, as did the Subversion of the *Florentine* Government in that Country; and as they were preparing to do the like in *Holland*, when they feared the late *Prince of Orange's* overturning that State; for the *Antipathy* betwixt *Merchants* and *Souldiers* is such, that all Monarchs of *Trading* Countries have ever held at their Interest, to keep their great *Trading Towns* free from a *Mercenary Militia*, and it is exceeding difficult,



difficult, if not Morally impossible for a Prince to advance *Trade* to any great *height*, where the People are under the awe of a standing *Military Power*; and the *French King* seems to own the *truth* of *this*, in that finding the benefit of Commerce, he is even in *France* content that his *Trading Cities* should be freed from *Souldiers*, and more gently used than the rest of his Country; for so far as the Nature of his *Arbitrary Government* will permit, he studieth all manner of ways to advance *Trade*.

As *First*, By totally prohibiting such *Foreign Commodities* and *Manufactures*, as his People are capable of making, sufficient to serve his Country, as *Train-Oyl*, &c.

*Secondly*, By burthening *others* with high *Customs* and *Impositions*, to the end to incourage his *own Artisans* and *Seamen*, thereby making the Trade of *England* thither very prejudicial to us, our *Transportations* hence being inconsiderable to our *Importations* thence; and as they *improve* in any Faculty, so they either *Prohibit* or *Increase* their *Impositions*, upon the Importation of the Foreign-made *Commodities* of that Faculty.

And *Thirdly*, As an Incouragement to Trade, the *French King* hath lately declared the Exercise of Commerce in a *Gentleman*, to be no prejudice to his *Quality*, having also erected an *Academy* for breeding his *Nobility* to Sea Affairs, and teaching them the Art of *Navigation*, &c. All which may well Alarm *England* to a *Jealousie* of their Designs, as most dangerous to it, and to look upon the

B French,

*French*, as those Rivals, whom (if hatred be lawful, as the *Letter* in this Case seems to make it) we ought most to hate; for should they once come to *Vie* with us in *Trade* or *Naval* strength, we should find them to exceed all that ever went before them, in *Insolency*, *Injustice* and *Selfishness*.

And whether the second part of this *No-tion* hath a good *Foundation*, which asserts, *That* should England get but the *Sea Towns* alone, leaving the rest of the *States Dominions* to the *French*, we should have no cause to repent our *Bargain*. I will not presume to judge, yet this I think considerable in the *Case*, that should the *Inlands* of the *United Provinces*, and with them all the *Conquered places* fall to the share of the *French*, as by the late published *Proposals* in *Dutch* (if true) they seem to pretend unto the *Letter*; then having thereby the command of the *Rivers* of *Rhine* and *Mase*, &c. together with *Sluce*, and the other *Garrisons* which shut up the *Trade* of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, they will have it in their *Power* to render all the parts of the *Seventeen Provinces*, which will remain to the *Kings* of *England* and *Spain*, of no more use to them, than they please to allow of.

*First*, Because the *Sea-Towns* of the *United Netherlands* cannot be divided from the *Inlands*, from which they receive their *nourishment*, nor deprived of the use of their *Rivers*, by which they drive their *Trades*, without utter *ruine* to them, and making them thereby an intolerable *Burthen* to their *Masters*.

*Secondly*,

*Secondly*, Because the *Spanish Netherlands* will thereby be so invironed, or rather beleaguered by the *French Garrisons* and Forces on all sides, as well towards *Germany, Holland* and *Zealand*, &c. as towards *France*; that having no means left them, for forming or maintaining an Army, (as any that know those Countries must confess) they will always be at the *French King's* Devotion, and when assaulted by him, without possibility of contributing any considerable assistance to their own *Deliverance*, or to make the *Triple League* of any use to them.

*Thirdly*, Because such will be the enervated condition of the *Spanish Netherlands*, that the King of *Spain* will be necessitated, as not being able to maintain them longer than the *French* will permit him, either to quit them voluntarily, or (if he can obtain so much *Favour*) to make an exchange or Sale of them to the *French King*, who then having *Flanders* and *Brabant*, (which he hath so long thirsted after) and all the *Rivers* belonging to them in his own hands, will assuredly, for the advantage of himself, and his own Countries, even in times of Peace, so obstruct and binder the Trade of the Maritime Towns of *Holland, Zealand* and *Friezland*, (if in the possession of any but himself) and in times of War totally shut them up by Land) as will restore *Flanders* and *Brabant* to their ancient Trade, and make a new *Holland* of them; which being in the hands of the *French*, will probably prove abundantly worse to *England* than the old, if large experience of Injuries and Injustices, committed in

Trade by them against this Nation, may warrant a Conclusion; as by the Certificate under the Lord Ambassador *Hollis* his hand, (which I send you here inclosed) given upon an order of his Majesties Privy-Council, Dated the 17th of April 1667. in the Case of Sir *Francis Toppe* and Company, doth for one instance sufficiently appear.

Nay, such is the *envious* care of the *French*, that no Nation should *Get* or *Thrive* by *them*, that (as Mr. *Samuel Fortrey*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Privy-Chamber, reporteth in his Book Printed 1663: and Dedicated to *King Charles the Second*) not many years ago, they suspecting (through mistakes) that *England* had an advantage of them in their Trade for *France*, they were upon Counsels for *Prohibiting* all Trade with *England*, until upon a strict examination, they found, that whereas *England* vented of their Commodities into *France*, not to above the value of *Ten hundred thousand pounds per Annum*; *France* vented of theirs to the *English Six and twenty hundred thousand Pounds*; and then finding that they had *Sixteen hundred thousand Pounds* advantage in the Ballance, they soon let fall their design, though yet not without *burthening English Manufactures* with *New Impositions*, in such manner, as might much hinder the vent of them in their Country. Mr. *Fortrey* in the aforementioned *Book*, doth not only recite the very *Ballance* of Trade it self, which he affirms was presented to the *French King*, to shew the advantage they have in their Trade with *England*; but also adds further, that hereby it  
may

may appear, how insensibly our *Treasure* will be *Exhausted*, and the Nation *Beggered*, whilst we carelessly neglect our own Interest, and *Strangers abroad* are diligent to make their advantage by us.

And it is of no little consideration, that the French should so far *Overvalue* themselves, as to increase their Impositions upon Dutch Commodities, to a degree of Prohibiting them, and deny to the Dutch the like Power by theirs, as if they had a right to deal as they please towards other Nations, and yet none to do towards them (by way of Retaliation) any more than they shall think fit to give them *leave* to do; an overweening opinion of their own Greatness, which all Princes and States ought to be Jealous of, as not knowing where their Ambition will end.

And besides these things thus instanced in, we have great cause to take notice, that as the effect of the implacable Hatred of the French to our Nation, they cannot forbear in their Writings, to express their Inveterate Malice against us, as that Book called, *Le Politique de France*, writ in the year 1669. and Dedicated to the French King, is a pregnant Testimony, where no better *Epithets* are allowed us, than being *without Friends, without Faith, without Religion, without Honesty, without any Justice, of defying or provoking Natures, light or unconstant to the highest degree, Cruel, Impatient, Gluttons, Proud, Audacious and Covetous, proper for ready Execution and Assaults; but incapable of managing a War with judgment.* With other such-like opprobrious and reproachful



proachful Expressions, besides a Method propounded to be observed in order to the Conquest of *England*, Page 158, 159, 160, 161, enough to raise a lawful Indignation in all true English-men, against such Insolent Slanderers, who by their Impudence, endeavour to impose their own Characters upon us, contrary to the known experience of the rest of the World.

And now, Sir, I have no more to add, than (all Circumstances considered) my Agreement with the Pamphlet in this Principle, that while *France* is so Great as at present, it can in no kind be for the Safety of *England* to subvert *Holland* and *Zealand*, &c. which are properly called their Out-guards or Works against all Invasions, and cannot be demolished, or in the hands of the French, without laying *England* Naked, or at least the more open to that Nation, and that nothing is more demonstrable, than that since the United Provinces cannot signifie much without Freedom, they will under their own Government be of most use to all Christendom, (save *France*, who only wants them as a Qualification for threatening, instead of courting their Neighbours) in maintaining the general Ballance of *Europe*, even as it was great Wisdom in the long Parliament (for *the wickedest of men may have Worldly Prudence*) to joyn with *Holland* in the preserving of *Denmark*, as necessary for the Ballancing of *Sweden*, when *Cromwel* (in his time) in revenge of manifest Affronts and hatred, had designed the ruine of the *Dane*.

And



And thus, Sir, having in Obedience to your Commands, given you freely my sense of the Pamphlet and Letter, without varying from the matter in either; as it is in them respectively stated, I hope you will pardon any thing wherein I may differ with you in Judgment or Opinion; for I have this for my Buckler, that what I have writ is Truth, and that I aim at nothing in it, but the true Interest of the King and Kingdom of *England*, and Protestant Religion, denying that any can have more Cordial Affection for them, than my self, who am &c.

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B 4

*April*  

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April 17. Anno 1669. According to  
the Printed Copy.

**I**N Obedience to an Order of Council of the  
16th. present, requiring my opinion, what  
is fit to be done for relief of Sir Francis  
Toppe and Company: I do humbly certifie,  
that I have perused their Case, and find that  
they complain\* of great Losses and Damages  
sustained in the Year 1644. whilst they lived  
in St. Malo, from the French, by seizing  
their Goods in a time of Peace, in the very  
Harbours of France, whither they had brought  
those Goods in a way of Trading, and where  
by several Treaties then in force, and by the  
very Law of Nations, (which gives a Secu-  
rity to the Persons and Estates of all who re-  
side Peaceably within the Dominions of any  
Prince or State) they ought to have been Safe  
and Free from all Arrests, the Owners not  
having done any thing whereby to Forfeit  
their Interest in them; which Course, if suf-  
fered, must needs be the Destruction of all  
Trade and Commerce between the two King-  
doms, as it is also very Dishonourable and  
Injurious to his Majesty, that the Publick  
Faith

*Faith should be broken to his Subjects, who Trade under his Protection, by vertue of the Treaties made between the two Crowns; and it is much to be feared, that the Proceedings in France may become very prejudicial in this kind, to the whole Trading of the English Nation in that Kingdom, if nothing be done to stop this growing mischief: In regard this is not the single Case, where this course hath been put in practice, the like having been done several times to English Merchants at Rouen, who are not yet free of the trouble; for a Capture at Sea, whether real, or pretended to have been made in 1616. by an English Privateer of a French Ship, belonging to one Delauziay, valued but at six thousand Livres. And whilst I had the Honour to serve his Majesty, as his Ambassador in France, two English Ships coming into Harbour at Marseille, when they had Landed their Goods, and paid all Duties, were seized upon, Ships and Goods, and notwithstanding all my Solicitations, would not be discharged: But some Months after, the War breaking out, were given to the East-India Company there, they pretending some Ships of theirs to have been formerly taken by the English. And now, as I hear at St. John de Liez, the same Usage is threatned, if not already begun, to our Merchants there, for the Reparation of  
the*

*the Widow de Lazin, for some Goods of her late Husbands, taken from her by the Parliament in 1643. So as all this makes me fearful it may come to be a constant Custom, if not prevented. I do therefore offer it as my humble Opinion, that all care should be taken for the prevention of it. And for this particular Case of Sir Francis Toppe's and Company, that in the first place a fair Application may be made to the French King, as well by his Ambassador here, as by his Majesties Ambassador at Paris, for the just Satisfaction of the Petitioners, which may be hoped will prove effectual, and should it not, it will then be time for his Majesty to consider, what is further to be done for the Vindication of his own Honour, and the Protection of his Subjects.*

HOLLIS.

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THE

THE  
WORLDS MISTAKE

12.

I N

**Oliver Cromwel,**

O R,

A Short Political Discourse,

SHEWING,

That CROMWELL's Mal-  
administration, (during his Four  
Years and Nine Months pre-  
tended Protectorship) laid the  
Foundation of our present Con-  
dition, in the Decay of

T R A D E.

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L O N D O N,

Printed in the Year 1689.

1870



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# T H E W O R L D S M I S T A K E

I N

*Oliver Cromwell, &c.*

**O**F all the Sins that the Children of Men are guilty of, there is none that our corrupt Natures are more inclinable unto, than that of Idolatry, a Sin that may be towards Men so well as other Creatures and things: For as that which a Man unmeasurably relies, and sets his Heart upon, is called his God, even as that which he falls down before and worshippeth: So when one hath the Person of another in an excess of admiration, whether for Greatness or Richness, &c. which we are subject to adore, we are said to Idolize him; and therefore the wise *Venetians*, who, of all Men, are most Jealous of their Liberty, considering, that as the Nature of Man is not prone to any thing more than the Adoration of Men, so nothing is more Destructive to Freedom, have, for preventing the Mischiefs of it, made it Unlawful, even so much as to Mourn for their Duke at his Death: Intimating thereby, that their Felicity and Safety depends

depends not upon the uncertain Thred of any one Man's Life, but upon the Vertue of their good Laws and Orders well executed, and that they can never want vertuous Persons to succeed: And how do such Principles in Men, led by little more than Morality, reprove those who have a great measure of Gospel-light, for their senseless Excess, in their adoring the remembrance of *Cromwell*? For as the Objects of Idolatry are Mistaken Creatures, or things proceeding sometimes from Self-love, so well as other Causes; So the undeserved Approbation and Applause, that *Cromwell's* Memory seems to have with his Adherents, amounting to little less than the Idolizing of him, appears to me, to be the product of an excessive Veneration of Greatness, and a Selfish Partiality towards him; for that the more Honour is given to him, the more Praise they think will consequently redound to them who were his Favourites; and they fortifie themselves herein, with the Credit they say he hath abroad, though there is little in that, because the opinion that Strangers have of him, may well be put upon the account of their Ignorance in the Affairs of *England*, which Travellers do find to be so great, even amongst Ministers of State, as is to be admired. And now as this Error in Idolizing *Oliver* hath two Moral Evils in it, (besides the sin in it self:) The one a Reflection upon the present Times, as if the former were better than these. And the other the unjust Defrauding the *Long Parliament* of that which is due to them, to give it Idolatrously to him to whom it doth not belong;

belong; I esteem it a Duty incumbent upon me, to discover the Mistake. I am not insensible, that I shall by this, draw the Envy of those upon me, who being Jealous of their Honour, will be angry for touching them in their *Diana*; but knowing my self clear from the Vices of Envyng Vertue in any, how contrary soever he may be to me in Judgment, so well as from being unwilling to allow every one their due Commendations, I will cast my self upon Providence for the Success of this Paper; and in reference to *Cromwell's* Government, and the present times, make some Observations relating to both; and, in order thereunto, shew,

First, That the Original Cause of the low Condition that we are now (in relation to Trade) reduced unto, had its beginning in *Oliver's* time, and the Foundations of it laid, either by his ignorant mistaking the Interest of this Kingdom, or willfully doing it, for the Advancement of his own particular Interest.

Secondly, That his time, for the short continuance, had as much of Oppression and Injustice, as any former times.

Thirdly and lastly, That he never in his later days, valued either Honour or Honesty, when they stood in the way of his Ambition; and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though so much Idolized) but that the Partiality of the World should make him so great a Favourite of Ignorance and Forgetfulness, as he seems to be.

When

When this late Tyrant, or Protector, (as some call him) turned out the *Long Parliament*, the Kingdom was arrived at the highest pitch of Trade, Wealth and Honour, that it, in any Age, ever yet knew. The Trade appeared, by the great Sums offered then for the Customs and Excise, Nine hundred thousand Pounds a year being refused. The Riches of the Nation shewed it self, in the high Value that Land and all our Native Commodities bore, which are the certain Marks of Opulency. Our Honour was made known to all the World, by a Conquering Navy, which had brought the *Hollanders* upon their Knees, to beg Peace of us upon our own Conditions, keeping all other Nations in awe. And besides these Advantages, the Publick Stock was Five hundred thousand Pounds in ready Money, the value of Seven hundred thousand Pounds in Stores, and the whole Army in Advance, some Four, and none under Two Months; so that though there might be a Debt of near Five hundred thousand Pounds upon the Kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it.

The Nation being in this flourishing and formidable Posture, *Cromwell* began his Usurpation, upon the greatest Advantages imaginable, having it in his power to have made Peace and profitable Leagues, in what manner he had pleased, with all our Neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the Friendship of *England*; but, as if the Lord had infatuated and deprived him of common Sense and Reason, he neglected all our Golden Oppor-

Opportunities, misimproved the Victory God had given us over the *United Netherlands*, making Peace (without ever striking stroak) so soon as ever things came into his hands, upon equal Terms with them. And immediately after, contrary to our Interest, made an unjust War with *Spain*, and an Impolitick League with *France*, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendom; and by that means, broke the Ballance betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain* and *France*, which his Predecessors, the Long Parliament, had always wisely preserved.

In this Dishonest War with *Spain*, he pretended, and endeavoured to impose a Belief upon the World, that he had nothing in his eye, but the Advancement of the Protestant Cause, and the Honour of this Nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in Foreign Affairs (as I am apt to think, that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them.) For he that had known any thing of the temper of the Popish Prelacy, and the French Court Policies, could nor but see, that the way to increase or preserve the Reformed Interest in *France*, was by rendring the Protestants of necessary use to their King; for that longer than they were so, they could not be free from Persecution; and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the Ballance betwixt *Spain* and *France* even, as that which would consequently make them useful to their King: But by overthrowing the ballance in his War with *Spain*, and joyning with *France*, he freed the French  
C King



King from his Fears of *Spain*, inabled him to subdue all Factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the Persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that Nation, against the Reformed there; so that *Oliver*, instead of advancing the Reformed Interest, hath by an Error in his Politicks, been the Author of destroying it.

The Honour and Advantage he propounded to this Nation, in his pulling down of *Spain*, had as ill a Foundation: For if true as was said, that we were to have had *Ostend* and *Newport*, so well as *Dunkirk* (when we could get them) they bore no proportion in any kind, to all the rest of the King of *Spain's* European Dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French King's share, because of their joyning, and nearness to him, and remoteness from us; and the increasing the Greatness of so near a Neighbour, must have increased our future Dangers. But this Man, who through Ignorance is so strangely cried up in the World, was not guilty of this Error in State only, but committed as great a Solecism in his designing the Outing of the King of *Denmark*, and setting up of the King of *Sweden*: For had the Sweeds but got *Copenhagen*, (as in all probability, had *Oliver* lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of Consequence, but the Cities of *Lubeck* and *Dantzick*, (which by their then Potency they would easily have gained) of being Masters of the whole *Baltick* Sea on both

both sides, from the Sound or Mouth, down to the bottom of it; by which, together with all *Denmark*, *Norway*, and the Danes part of *Holstein*, which would consequently have been theirs (they then having, as they still have, the Land of *Bremen*) there would have been nothing, but the small Counties of *Ouldenburg* and *East-Friezland*, (which would easily have fallen into their mouths) betwixt them and the *United Netherlands*, whereby *Sweden* would on the one side to the North and North-East, have been as great, as *France* on the other, to the South and South-West; and they two able to have divided the Western Empire betwixt them.

And whereas it had in all Ages been the Policies of the Northern States and Potentates, to keep the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea divided amongst several petty Princes and States, that no one might be sole Master of it; because otherwise most of the necessary Commodities for Shiping, coming from thence and *Norway*, any one Lord of the whole, might lay up the Shiping of *Europe* by the walls, in shutting only of his Ports, and denying the Commodities of his Country to other States. *Cromwell*, contrary to this wise Maxim, endeavoured to put the whole *Baltick* Sea into the Sweeds hands, and undoubtedly had (though I suppose ignorantly) done it, if his death had not given them that succeeded him, the Long Parliament, an opportunity of prudently preventing it: For if he had understood the Importance of the *Baltick* Sea to this Nation, he could not have

been so Impolitick, as to have projected so dangerous a design against his new *Utopia*, as giving the opening and shutting of it to any one Prince. I am not ignorant that this error is excused, by pretending that we were to have had *Elfinore* and *Gronenburg* Castle, (the first, the Town, upon the narrow entrance of the *Baltick*, called the Sound, where all Ships Ride, and pay Toll to the King of *Denmark*; and the latter, the Fortress that defends both Town and Ships) by which we should have been Masters of the Sound, and consequently of the *Baltick*; but they that know those Countries, and how great a Prince the Sweed would have been, had he obtained all the rest, besides these two Bables, must confess, we should have been at his Devotion, in our holding of any thing in his Countries: And further, if the dangerous consequence of setting up so great a Prince, had not been in the case, it had been against the Interest of *England*, to have had an Obligation upon us to maintain places so remote, against the Enmity of many States and Princes; and that for these Reasons:

*First*, Because the ordinary Tolls of the Sound would not have defrayed half the charge; and to have taken more than the ordinary Tolls, we could not have done, without drawing a general Quarrel upon us, from most of the Princes and States of the Northern parts of *Europe*.

*Secondly*, Because the Experience of all former times sheweth us, that Foreign Acquisitions have ever been Chargeable and Prejudicial

dicial to the People of *England*; as Sir *Robert Cotton* makes it clearly appear, That not only all those Pieces of *France*, which belonged to us by rightful Succession; but also those we held by Conquest, were always great burthens to our Nation, and cause of much Poverty and Misery to the People. And it is not our Case alone, to be the worse for Conquests, (although more ours than other Countries, because of the Charge and uncertainty of the Winds and Weather in the Transportation of Succors and Relief by Sea, which contiguous Territories, which are upon the Main, are not subject to,) but the Case also of (I think I may say) all other Kingdoms. In *France* their Burthens and Oppressions have grown in all Ages, with the greatness of their Kings; Nay, even after their last Peace with *Spain*, by which they had given them Peace with all the World, besides many places in the *Spanish Netherlands* and *Catalonia* in to boot: Upon which the Poor People promised themselves (though vainly) an unquestionable abatement of Taxes; instead of that, they found their Pressures increased daily, and their King, though overgrownly Great and Rich himself, yet the People so Poor, that thousands are said to die in a plentiful year, for want of Bread to their Water, nothing being free there, but fresh Water and Air: For (except in some few privileged Places) wherever they have the Conveniency, by their Situation of Sea Water, (lest they should make use of the Benefit of that which God and Nature hath given them, for saving the charge of Salt,)

every Family is forced to take so much Salt of the King at his own Rate, (which is above ten times the Price it is sold for to Strangers for Transportation) as is judged they may spend in a year; the Lord deliver all other Countries from their Example. In *Sweden*, that King, Court, and their Military Officers, are the better for their Conquests in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Russia*, and some places anciently belonging to *Poland*, but the Commons the worse. *Spain* is undone, by the great number of People sent thence to the *West-Indies*, which hath depopulated the Country, *France* reaping more Benefit by keeping their People at home to Manufactures, than *Spain* doth by sending theirs abroad for Silver and Gold. And now, though by these Instances it may appear to be the Interest of the People of other Nations so well as ours, to live in Peace, without covering Additions; yet it is more our true Interest, (because, by reason of our Situation, we have no need of Foreign Frontier Towns, our Ships well ordered, being better than other Princes bordering Garrisons) than any other Kingdoms, to neglect especially *European* Acquisition and Colonies, and apply our selves,

*First*, To the improving of our own Land, of which we have more than we have People to manage.

*Secondly*, To the Increasing our Home and Foreign Trades, for which we have natural Advantages above any other Nation.

*Thirdly*,



*Thirdly and Lastly*, (By our Strength which Trade will increase) To make use of it, together with the helps that God and Nature hath given us in our Situation and otherwise, in keeping the Ballance amongst our Neighbours: For if the Province of *Holland*, which is but Four hundred thousand Acres of profitable Ground, is by the benefit of Trade able to do so much, as we experienced the last War; what might we do, if Trade were improved, who have much more Advantages for it than they have? I ascribe what was done by the *Netherlands* in the late War, to the Province of *Holland*; because, that though the Provinces are Seven in number, *Holland's* due proportion of all Charges, is  $58\frac{1}{2}$  in a hundred, to all the others  $41\frac{1}{2}$ , of which  $41\frac{1}{2}$ , *Holland* gets little more than 20 honestly paid them; insomuch, that it alone may be reckoned to bear four Fifths in an hundred, to one Fifth that all the other six bears: And how Prodigious a thing is it, that *Holland*, no bigger than as before mentioned, should be able to cope with *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and that though their Charges in the late War was abundantly greater than ours, yet by their good Management, to be so little the worse for it, that at the conclusion of the War, to have their Credits so high, that they could have commanded what Money they had pleased at Three in the Hundred, and all this by the meer additional Benefit of Trade and good Order; and how by *Cromwell's* indiscreet neglecting of Trade, and choosing War when he was in Peace, did he

miss the true Interest of *England*, as by his ill-founded designs, he did the Interest of the Reformed Religion: For if he had succeeded in his unjust Invasion of the Spanish Territories in the *West-Indies*, (as God seldom prospereth dishonest Undertakings) it being intended for a State Acquisition, the Benefit would not have been diffusive, but chiefly to himself and Favourites, and prejudicial to the People in general, though at the Expence of their Substance, the Acquests would have been made: For had he met with so much Success in the gaining those Countries, and in them, that Plenty of Gold and Silver as he vainly hoped for, we should have been as unhappy in them (in the Depopulating of our Countries, by the loss of the multitude of People that must have been sent thither, and in impoverishing our Nations by the vast Charge of a continual War) as *Spain* is; and to no other end, than the making of him only Rich, able to Inslave the remaining People, and to make himself Absolute over them; for the preventing of which, in such Tyrants as *Cromwell*, surely *Moses* had an Eye, when he said, that they should not greatly multiply Silver and Gold. And thus, as *Cromwell's* designs must, to an impartial Judgment, appear to have been laid, some Dishonestly, others Impolitickly, and all contrary to the Interest of the Kingdom; so the Issue of them was damageable to the People of *England*: As,

*First*, In his sudden making a Peace with *Holland* so soon as he got the Government, without those Advantages for Trade, as they  
who

who beat them did intend to have had, as their Due and just Satisfaction for their Charges in the War.

*Secondly*, In his War with *Spain*, by the loss of that Beneficial Trade to our Nation, and giving it to the *Hollanders*, by whose hands we drave (during the War) the greatest part of that Trade which we had of it, with Five and twenty in the Hundred Profit to them, and as much Loss to us.

*Thirdly*, By our Loss in that War with *Spain*, of 1500 English Ships, according as was reported to that Assembly, called, *Richard's Parliament*.

*Fourthly*, In the Disgracefullest Defeat at *Hispaniola* that ever this Kingdom suffered in any Age or Time.

*Fifthly and Lastly*, In spending the Great Publick Stock he found, and yet leaving a vast Debt upon the Kingdom; as appeared by the Accompts brought into *Richard's Assembly*; which had (I believe) been yet much higher, but that they who under him managed the Affairs, were a sort of People who had been long Disciplin'd (before his time) to a Principle of Frugality, and against Cheating; though at Cousening the Poorer People, for their Masters Benefit, some of them were grown as Dexterous, as if they had been bred in the Court of *Spain*: For besides imposing *Richard* upon the People, after his Father's Death, by a Forged Title, according to the very Law they took to be in being, when, by his Assembly, they were ordered to bring in an Accompt of the Receipts and Payments  
of

of the Kingdom ; they made about Sixty thousand Pounds spent in Intelligence, whereas it cost not above Three or Four thousand at most ; and calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their Trades.

It is confessed, that *Oliver's* Peace and League with *France*, was upon Honourable Articles ; but as the tottering Affairs of *France* then stood, much more could not have been sooner asked than had ; For *Mazerine* being a Man of a large and subtle Wit, apprehending the Greatness of *England* at that time, which was then dreadful to the World, and the vast Advantages *France* would have in pulling down, by their help, of *Spain*, granted him, not only any thing for the present that he demanded, but disregarded also, even his Parties making their boasts of the awe he had him under, considering, that when *Cromwell* had helped him, to do his work, in bringing under the House of *Austria*, and therein casting the ballance of Christendom on his side, he should afterwards have leisure to recover what then he seemed to part with : And though nothing is more ordinary than to hear Men brag, how *Oliver* vapoured over *France*, I do esteem *Mazerine's* complying with him, for his own ends, to be the Chief Piece of all his Ministry : For by that means only, and no other, is his Master become so great at this day, that no Factions at home can disturb his Peace, nor Powers abroad frighten him ; which is more than any King of *France*, since *Charles* the Great, could say :  
And

And when his Neighbour Nations have (too late I fear) experienced his Greatness, they will find cause to Curse the Ignorance of *Oliver's* Politicks; and therefore, when a true measure is taken of *Cromwell*, the approbation that he hath in the World, will not be found to have its Foundation in Sense or Reason, but proceeding from Ignorance and Atheism: From Ignorance, in those that take all that was done by him, as a Servant, and whilst under the direction of better Heads than his own, to be done by him alone: And from Atheism, in those that think every thing lawful that a Man doth, if it succeed to his Advancement. But they that shall take an impartial View of his Actions whilst he was a Single Person, and at liberty to make use of his own Parts without control, will find nothing worthy Commendations, but cause enough from thence to observe, that the Wisdom of his Masters, and not his own, must have been that by which he first moved; and to attribute his former Performances, whilst a Servant, (as is truly due) to the Judgment and Subtilty of the Long Parliament, under whose Conduct and Command he was. And now from *Cromwell's* neglecting to live in Peace, as if he had pleased he might have done with all the World, to the great Enriching of this Nation: The improvement of our Victory over *Holland* in his Peace with them; His being the Cause of the loss of our Spanish Trade during all his time; Of the loss of 1500 English Ships in that War; besides, by it, breaking the Ballance of *Europe*;  
Of



Of the Expence of the Publick Stock and Stores he found, with the contracting a Debt of Nineteen hundred thousand Pounds, according to his own accompt, (which, for ought I know he left behind him, but am apt to think the Debt was not altogether so great, though made so to his Son *Richard's* Assembly, as a means to get the more Money from the Poorer People:) And lastly, Of the dishonourable overthrow we met with at *Hispaniola*, it may well be concluded, that he laid the Foundation of our present want of Trade, to what we formerly enjoyed; and that the reason why his Miscarriages were not sooner under observation, is, because our Stock of Wealth and Honour at his coming to the Government, being then unspeakably great, stifled their appearance, until having since had some unhappy additional Losses, they are now become discernable; as first Losses to a Merchant, who concealedly bears up under them, are afterwards discovered by the addition of Second Losses that sink him. When I contemplate these great Failings, I cannot but apprehend the sad Condition any People are in, whose Governour drives on a distinct contrary Interest to theirs; for doubtless *Cromwell's* over-weening Care to secure his particular Interest, against His Majesty (then abroad) and the Long Parliament, whom he had turned out, with a prodigious Ambition of acquiring a glorious Name in the World, carried him on to all his Mistakes and Absurdities, to the irreparable Loss and Damage of this Famous Kingdom.

To

To prove the Second Assertion, That *Oliver's* Time was full of Oppression and Injustice, I shall but instance in a few of many Particulars, and begin with *John Lilburne*, not that I think him in any kind one that deserved Favour or Respect, but that equal Justice is due to the worst so well as best Men, and that he comes first in order of time.

First, *John* in 1649. was by Order of the then Parliament tryed for his Life, with an intent (I believe) of taking him away; but the Jury not finding him Guilty, he was immediately, according to Law, generously set at Liberty by those that had quarrel enough against him. This Example in the Parliament, of keeping to the Laws in the Case of one who was a professed implacable Enemy to them, ought to have been copied by *Cromwell*; but on the contrary, to shew that there was a difference betwixt his and his Predecessors (the Long Parliaments) Principles, when the Law had again upon a second Tryal (occasioned by *Oliver*) cleared *Lilburne*, the Parliaments submitting to the Law was no Example to him; for, contrary to Law, he kept him in Prison, until he was so far spent in a Consumption, that he only turned him out to dye.

Secondly, Mr. *Gonyes* Case is so Notorious, that it needs little more than naming: He was a Prisoner at *Cromwell's* Suit, and being brought to the Kings-Bench-Bar by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his Counsel taken from the Bar, and sent to the Tower for no other reason, than the pleading of their Clients Cause; an  
Act

Act of Violence, that I believe the whole Story of *England* doth not parallel.

Thirdly, Sir *Henry Vaine*, above any one Person, was the Author of *Oliver's* Advancement, and did so long and cordially Espouse his Interest, that he prejudiced himself (in the opinion of some) by it; yet so ungrateful was this Monster of Ingratitude, that he studied to destroy him both in Life and Estate, because he could not adhere to him in his Perjury and Falseness. The occasion he took was this, He appointing a publick Day of Humiliation, and seeking of God for him, invited all Gods People in his Declaration, to offer him their Advice in the Weighty Affairs then upon his Shoulders: Sir *Henry* taking a Rise from hence, offered his Advice by a Treatise, called, *The Healing Question*; but *Cromwell*, angry at being taken at his word, Seized, Imprisoned, and endeavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only what he had invited him to do; and some may think, that Sir *Henry* suffered justly, for having known him so long, and yet would trust to any thing he said.

Fourthly, In *Richard's* Assembly, certain Prisoners in the Tower, under the then Lieutenant, and some sent thence to *Jersey*, and other places beyond the Sea, complained of False Imprisonment. Their Goaler was sent for, and being required to shew by what Authority he kept those Persons in hold, produceth a Paper all under *Oliver's* own Hand, as followeth: *Sir, I pray you Seize such and such Persons, and all others whom you shall judge dangerous*

dangerous Men; do it quickly, and you shall have a Warrant after you have done. The nature of this Warrant was by *Richard's* Assembly debated, and having first *Richard's* own Counsel's Opinion in the Case, they Voted the Commitment of the Complainants to be Illegal, Unjust, and Tyrannical; and that first, because the Warrant by which they were Committed, was under the hand of the then (as they called him) Chief Magistrate, who by Law ought not to commit any by his own Warrant. Secondly, Because no Cause was shewn in the Warrant. And Thirdly, (In the Case of those sent out of the reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, which in Law is a Banishment) Because no English-man ought to be Banished by any less Authority than an Act of Parliament. And therefore, for these Reasons, they Voted farther, that the Prisoners should be set at Liberty without paying any Fees or Charges, but the turning out, and punishing the Lieutenant by the Assembly (for obeying so unjust a Warrant) was prevented by their sudden Dissolution.

Fifthly, The Tyranny in the decimating a Party restored to common Priviledges with all others, and the publick Faith given for it, by a Law made to that end, by the then Powers in being, is sufficiently shewed in the mentioning of it, only there is this aggravating Circumstance in it, That *Cromwell*, who was the principal Person in procuring that Law, when he thought it for his Advantage not to keep it, was the only Man for breaking it: But to the Honour of his first Assembly, next follow-

following, it may be remembred, that they no sooner came together, than like true Englishmen, who are always jealous of the Rights and Priviledges of the People, damned the Act of Decimation, as an unjust and wicked breach of Faith.

The third Assertion of *Cromwell's* knowing no Honesty, where he thought his particular Interest was concerned, is made good: First, (though therein he mistook his Interest) in his odious and unjust War with *Spain*, without the least provocations, meerly out of an ambitious and coverous design of robbing that Prince of his Silver and Gold Mines, and because he judged it for his Credit to disguise his unlawful desires, he proceeded in it, by employing his Creatures in the City, to draw the Merchants to complain of Injuries done them by *Spain*, and to Petition for Reparations; but by a cross Providence, his Project had a contrary Success; for instead of answering his Seekings, the Merchants remonstrated to him, the great prejudice that a War with *Spain* would be to *England*; and shewed, that that King had been so far from Injuring us, that he had done more for Compliance and preventing a breach with *England*, than ever he had done in favour of any other Nation. But when *Oliver* saw his Method would not take, he called the Remonstrators Malignants, and begun the War of his own accord, in which he was highly ingrateful in designing the ruine of that Prince, who all along had been most Faithful to his Party.

Secondly,



*Secondly,* His Falseness and Ingratitude appeared Superlatively in turning out his Masters, who had not only advanced him, but made themselves the more odious by their partial Affection towards him, and in his doing it, with the breach of a Positive Negative Oath, taken once a year, when made a Counsellor of State, besides the breach of all other Engagements, Voluntary Imprecations, Protestations and Oaths, taken frequently upon all occasions in Discourse and Declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of Protection, and exposed them to the Fury of the People, in pursuing them with false reproachful Declarations, enough to have stirred up the rude multitude to have destroyed them, wherever they had met them.

*Thirdly,* His want of Honour, so well as Honesty, appeareth yet further, in that having, by a long Series of a seeming pious Deportment, gained, by his Dissimulation, good thoughts in his Masters, the Long Parliament, and by his Spiritual Gifts, winded himself into so good an opinion with the Soldiers, (Men generally of plain Breeding, that knew little besides their Military Trade, and Religious Exercises) that he could impose, in Matters of Business, what Belief he pleased upon them; he made use of the Credit he had with each, to abuse both, by many vile Practices for making himself Popular, & the Parliament and Army odious to one another; and because the Artifices he used are too many to enumerate, I shall but instance in some few; As his sly complaining Insinuations against the Army to the Parliament, and against them to

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the Army: His being the chief Cause of the Parliaments giving Rewards to his Creatures, and then whispering Complaints amongst his Officers of their ill Husbandry. His obstructing the House in their business, by long drawling Speeches, and other ways, and then complaining of them to his Soldiers, that he could not get them to do any thing that was good: His giving fair words to every one, without keeping promise with any, except for his own Advantage, & then excusing all with Forgetfulness: And his deserting his Major Generals in their Decimations, crying out most against them himself, when he only had set them at work, because questioned by his Assembly, is not to be forgotten, &c. I would not be understood to remember any thing here, in Favour of the Long Parliament, for what might be Wicked in him, might be Just as to them; And though, if what he did, had been for the Restauration of his Majesty, he might have been excused, yet being for his own Single Advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a Person to be truly admired for nothing but Apostasie and Ambition, and exceeding *Tiberius* in Dissimulation. I am not ignorant, that some think it matter of praise in him, that he kept us in Peace Four years and nine months; but that hath little in it, his Majesty having done the like, almost double his time, since his Return, with one fifth part of that number of Soldiers which he commanded; though he hath also had the trouble of pressing, and sometimes forcing Uniformity in Religion, which he found under several Forms; whereas *Oliver* kept the Nation purposely divided in  
Opinions,

Opinions, and himself of no declared Judgment, as the securest way of ingaging all several Persuasions equally to him; which Artifice, together with his leaving the Church Lands alienated as he found them, were all the true Principles of Policy that I know of, which he kept unto. The Honesty of these Principles, I refer to the judgment of every Man's Conscience; but if we may judge of things by Experience and Success, they seem to have been very happy in the World; For in comparing the Condition of the Protestant Countries at present, to what they were in times of Popery, we shall find them abundantly more considerable now than formerly; for in taking a true Survey of the Reformed Dominions, we shall discover them to bear no proportion at all in largeness, to the Popish, and that there is nothing that keeps the Ballance betwixt the two Parties, but the Advantage that the first hath, in being free from the Bondage of the Church of *Rome*, and the latters being under it; For as the Church of *Rome's* Mercies are (by their Principles) Cruelties, so had they power answerable to the natural Richness of the Soil of their Countries, and extent of their Territories, they would long e're this have swallowed up the Protestant Churches, and made Bonfires of their Members; but as God, in his Mercy and Wisdom, hath by his Over-ruling Hand of Providence, preserved his Church; so for the Romish Churches Inability to effect that which they have Will and Malice enough to carry them on to do, there are these natural Reasons.

*First*, There being generally of the Popish Countries, above one Moyety belonging to Churchmen, Monks, Fryars and Nuns, who, like Droans,

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spend the Fat of the Land, without contributing any thing to the good of Mankind, renders them much the less considerable.

*Secondly*, Marriage being forbidden to all these Sorts and Orders, occasions great want of People every where, (they being incapable of any Children but those of Darkneſs) except in *France*, which is an extraordinary Caſe, proceeding partly by not being ſo ſubject to *Rome*, as other Countries of that belief are; but eſpecially from the Multitude of Proteſtants that are among them.

*Thirdly*, The blind Devotion of theſe People, carrying them on to vaſt Expences, in the Building and richly adorning of many needleſs and ſuperfluous Churches, Chapels and Croſſes, &c. with the making chargeable Preſents by the better, and Pilgrimages by the meaner ſort, to their Idols, keeps all degrees under.

*Fourthly*, The many Holidays, upon which the labouring Man is forbidden to work, adds much to their Poverty.

*But Fifthly and Laſtly*, The vaſt number of Beging Friars, who living Idly, and purely upon the Sweat of other Mens Brows, without taking any labour themſelves, makes it impoſſible for the lower ſort of People, who think they are bound in Conſcience to relieve them, ever to get above a mean Condition. Now whoſoever ſhall ſeriously weigh and ponder theſe Circumſtances, under which the Popiſh Countries lye, and conſider the Reformeds Advantage in being free from them, muſt confeſs it the leſs wonder, that the Evangelical Princes and States, with their ſmall Dominions, compared to the others Great, are able to bear up againſt them; and now as the Alienation of Church-

Church-lands, the turning out the Romish Vermin, the Priests, Monks, Friars and Nuns, (who devour all Countries wherever they come) and freedom from the Popish Imposition upon Conscience, hath mightily increased the Greatness of the Protestant Princes and States, to what they antiently were, and the not doing the same in the Popish Countries, keeps those Princes under; so, even amongst the Reformed, where the Church-lands are most alienated, and Liberty of Conscience most given, they prosper most, as in *Holland*, and some parts of *Germany*, with other places. And I dare undertake to be a Prophet in this, That if ever any Protestant Country should be so far forsaken of the Lord, as to be suffered to turn unto Popery, these Observations will be made good in their visible loss of the Splendor, Riches, Power and Greatness, that they now know.

Had *Cromwell* been a Person of an open prophane Life, his Actions had been less Scandalous; but having been a Professor of Religion, they are not to be pleaded for; neither can it be consistent with Religion, to palliate them which have been of so much offence, and (as may be feared) made so many Atheists in the World: And I cannot but stand amazed, when I hear him extolled by some, not ignorant of his Practices, knowing in Religion, and (as I hope) fearing God.

Now I will suppose, I may be suspected to have been injured or disoblged by *Oliver*; but I can with Truth affirm, I never received either Good or Evil from him in all my Life, more than in Common with the whole Kingdom (which I think may be allowed to render me the more a Competent Judge in his Case,) and that I am so far from being  
moved

moved unto this, out of any quarrel to him, that, as  
 I have here mentioned, some few of many In-  
 justices and State-errors, that he was guilty of in his  
 short time, if I were conscious of any thing more,  
 during his Protectorship, worthy applause, than I  
 have here mentioned, I should not envy it him,  
 but freely remember it; and if any think I have  
 not said enough on his behalf, and too much to his  
 disadvantage, I have this for my Buckler, that I  
 wish I could have said more for him, and had  
 known less against him; professing, that besides  
 what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of  
 any one Action in all his Four years and nine  
 months time, done either Wisely, Vertuously, or  
 for the Interest of this Kingdom; and therefore  
 that I am none of his Admirers, I ought to be  
 pardoned by my Readers.

Much more might be said upon this Subject, but  
 this may suffice to shew, that if *Mazerine* (at the  
 hearing of *Oliver's* death) thought he had then rea-  
 son for calling him a Fortunate Fool, if he were  
 now living he would find more Cause for it, *Crom-*  
*well's* Lot, as to Reputation, having been exceed-  
 ingly much greater since his Death, than whilst he  
 was in the World: And that from forgetfulness of  
 his Impolitick Government, (from whose Entrance  
 we may date the Commencement of our Trades  
 decay,) And (through want of Memory) in Mens  
 giving to him the Cause of our former Wealth  
 and Prosperity, which truly belonged to others.  
 But what Opinion soever *Mazerine* may have  
 had of *Oliver*, he was without all peradventure  
 a Person of more than ordinary Wit, and no  
 otherwise a Fool than as he wanted Honesty, no  
 Man being wise but an Honest Man.

F I N I S.